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114 The study of Cherán was carried out in 1940–41 as part of the Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative undertaking of the University of California, the Escuela Nacional de Antropología del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (formerly the Departamento de Antropología de la Escuela de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional), and the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. In general, the program aims at a thorough investigation of the Tarascans and their culture, both past and present.[1] An extensive program of this character is obviously the work of many persons and involves many individual projects. Consequently, a number of subjects which might have formed a part of the study of Cherán were not undertaken because they will be dealt with in other studies. The chief omission has been the lack of any general consideration of the Tarascans as a whole or any investigation of historical backgrounds. In some respects the study of Cherán would be more rounded and intelligible had fuller knowledge of the historical changes in Tarascan culture been available.

121

Unfortunately, the historical aspects of the Tarascan program are still little developed. Several years of documentary research would have been necessary to approach the study of Cherán with reasonably full background knowledge. Consequently, the description of Cherán is primarily a cross section of the culture of the community at the time of the study without any effort to interpret its historical development.

[1] For a fuller discussion of the Program, see Rubín de la Borbolla, D. F., and Beals, Ralph L. (1940) and Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle (1944).

[p. 1b]

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Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The non-Tarascan families were more or less transient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p.1c]

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121 177 563 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both from essentially Indian towns themselves, two school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

114 The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

115 In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost immumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

769 people hid them when the priest approached, placing them out again when he moved on.
782 The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive in another part of the graveyard from the section where the priest was functioning. Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people eat lunch consisting of nákatamales, bread, and
[574] fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop to chat are usually given two tamales, which they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

● 121 Of immediate concern in dealing with a group
184 as large as the Tarascans is the question whether Cherán is adequately representative of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is not typical in its size and this difference alone makes it probable that it is not entirely representative of other Tarascan towns. A complete answer to the question raised must await more extensive investigation, but the staff of the present study visited or investigated enough other communities to indicate that, in a broad sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many detailed differences exist. Strong indications also exist that there are some regional differences which have already been mentioned. The villages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat different. The villages about La Cañada likewise seem distinguishable as a group. Probably the Sierra communities may be set apart as a regional unit, although it is possible that the Sierra group may ultimately be found to consist of two or more sections. Finally, a number of marginal towns assimilated to some degree into Mestizo culture present special problems.

121 Final resolution of the question raised seems to call for at least two further steps in the study of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three additional community studies are needed, one in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra town should also be studied, preferably one at considerable distance from Cherán and with a
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769 graveyard, people return home. Few people do any but the most necessary work on this day. Sometime during the day, either before going to the graveyard or after returning, most people hang strings of yellow flowers over the frames [822] of the house doors. Yellow is regarded as the color of mourning still, as it is in many parts of Indian Mexico. In view of reports of more elaborate ceremonies in other Tarascan towns, it should be recorded that no one at Cherán spends the night in the cemetery.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 significant manufacturing industry supplementing its agriculture. The second step would be an intensive but rapid survey of a large number of communities, perhaps by a trait-list technique, to discover the extent of local and regional variation. Quite possibly such a survey would reveal additional types of communities meriting study. For certain types of problems, of course, the marginal, more acculturated communities require study, but a fairly complete knowledge of typical Tarascan culture seems the first need.

177 The present study of Cherán reveals a num-
181 ber of points of considerable interest. Perhaps the most striking fact about Cherán is the essentially European origin of most of the culture and the relatively small number of traits of native provenience. Most of the material culture of Cherán is probably European, although obviously some of the plants, including the major crop, maize, is native. Farming techniques, implements, housing, men's clothing (and possibly women's clothing) are Indian only to a slight degree. The economic specialization and trade patterns may be based upon aboriginal conditions, yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans. Political and ceremonial organization are also European, although in part their origins represent Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's interpretation of Thomas More's "Utopia" (1923). The extensive *compadre* system is but an enlargement upon European ideas. The origin of the Tarascan wedding ceremony alone remains obscure and may have important native antecedents. Concepts of the supernatural,

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178 181 better wages would meet no opposition. Probably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

121 181 In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán culture is implied in the foregoing remarks. The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

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Mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past. (Pátzcuaro has not been studied but apparently the social structure is fairly rigidly fixed in terms of the families whose signatures occur on last Colonial charter of the town with relatively little modification by present economic or occupational conditions.)

As indicated in the introduction, the study of Cherán thus far has been conducted in a single time dimension. Ultimately, considerable light can be shed on the present culture by relating it to its historical background. Tarascan culture seems not to have been static in pre-European times and to have changed greatly both during and after the Colonial period. Materials are probably sufficiently abundant to permit study of change in enough detail to give some knowledge of processes. Of particular interest would be a study of contemporary culture in the light of the utopian ideas of Quiroga, ideas that to a considerable degree seem to have been translated into a functioning system.

Many problems related to the individual in Cherán need further attention. The role of women in Cherán could not be adequately studied for reasons already explained; it would not be too much to say that the present study gives merely the masculine culture of Cherán. Such problems as the significance of witchcraft and its relation to personality structure and emigration should be fruitful. The pattern of growth and development and child rearing undoubtedly has bearing on this point. Similarly rewarding should be a deeper investigation of the curious contradiction between the normal concealment or denial of wealth and its ostentatious display in connection with the wedding ceremonies. The characteristics of Cherán culture and Cherán personalities which seem to make it possible for individuals to adapt readily to the outside world, spend years in the heart of industrialized civilization, yet be reabsorbed wholly into the local situation on their return should offer fruitful problems for investigation. Likewise the influence of the returning emigrant on present conditions in Cherán should be more thoroughly understood.

Most of the foregoing suggestions for study involve the role of the individual and the relationship between the individual and culture. To this field of investigation also are related

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many of the practical administrative problems connected with Cherán. In the last analysis, the success of programs on behalf of the Indian undertaken by governmental agencies boils down to the problem of getting individuals to accept change.

In the field of practical administration, it should be evident that best results will be obtained if the area of culture recognized by Cherán residents as *los costumbres* is not disturbed. Officially expressed administrative aims lie primarily in the fields of economics, technology, education, and political life. Extensive modifications seem possible in these fields without tampering with the *costumbres*.

The most effective administrative measures, if it be conceded that the *costumbres* be not disturbed, seem to call for reducing the general objectives of governmental programs into specific objectives for the community of Cherán. Greater effectiveness seems likely to result if such objectives be very concrete, strictly limited initially, and held as consistently as possible. What is needed would appear to be a determination of what the desirable and practical objectives are in improving such things as farming techniques, introducing manufacturing techniques, and modifying housing. If the national objective of greater industrialization is to be realized, a clear corollary program should be developed to determine what types of industrial products Cherán residents are to be stimulated to desire. Mechanisms to protect the group initially from exploitation, both as buyers and sellers, might be desirable. In the educational field, decisions must be made and maintained over a reasonable time as to the purpose of Cherán education. Fundamentally, the problem is whether the people of Cherán are to be educated to live in Cherán or whether they are to be educated to leave Cherán. In the political field, it must be determined whether Cherán is to be self-governing and is to participate freely in a larger national democratic life. If the decision is affirmative, administrators must realize that the best school of democracy is practice in democracy and that the cure for errors is not less but more democracy.

Only when these and similar objectives are concretely framed and the necessary decisions

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121 made can a practical program be formulated for Cherán. Anthropological studies by themselves offer no easy and golden pathway to the solution of Indian problems. The most thorough study of the Tarascans must be ineffective practically if the necessary administrative objectives are not clearly defined. The data of an anthropological study such as this can do no more than offer hints as to the "soft" spots of the culture, the areas in which change can most easily be introduced, as well as the *costumbres*, the points of resistance, such as ceremonies (not necessarily including religion), dress, dances, weddings, and death customs. The study can likewise indicate some of the major problems of Cherán, such as the underproductivity of the soil and agricultural technology, the inadequate mechanization, the probable existence of an overly large population to permit any marked rise in economic status, the need of creating new attitudes in spending (for Cherán could finance many public improvements itself), the inadequacy of the water supply, the lack of public health facilities, and the shortcomings of the educational system.

In relation to these problems, further studies are needed in which the anthropologist is aided by technicians in soil use, farming, forestry, and animal husbandry techniques. Scientific-
[text continues on top of p.213b]

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON FOOD PLANTS AND FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

121 The following data were collected by Silvia Rendón in the pueblos of La Cañada, the next valley to the north of Cherán. As the valley is at a lower elevation than is Cherán, some differences are noticeable in techniques and in plants grown. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from Chilchota; although far from complete, they are included here because they afford some interesting comparisons, the more so in that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.

241 Plants cultivated: All of the plants cultivated in Cherán as well as many others, are
262 found in La Cañada. Black maize is grown in the fields, rather than in the house lots, but, as in Cherán, it is kept separate in storage and is used only for certain types of tamales and
[text continues on middle of p.213b]

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121 ally, such studies should be of great aid also, permitting better understanding of the fundamental limitations on Cherán culture.

Once a set of definite objectives has been established, the data of the anthropological study will be of considerable use in formulating a concrete program and in developing Tarascan cooperation. Moreover, the introduction of a program in itself, creates changes in the cultural situation. The dynamic quality of culture makes it important that administrative programs be accompanied by further study and be flexible enough to adapt to the changing situation.

Despite these remarks on the practical problems of government in the Tarascan area, it should be emphasized that the present study is primarily concerned with scientific objectives. These objectives happen to be closely related to practical considerations, for administrative objectives in Mexico call for culture change in some measure. Cultural processes and the function and interrelation of the parts of a culture emerge most clearly from dynamic situations rather than from static studies without temporal extension. Not only practical but scientific objectives can be served by the study of Cherán culture in transition.

APPENDIX 1

FOOD FROM LA CAÑADA

241 atoles. Wheat is sown twice a year; one planting is in June and it is harvested in December;
262 the second is in November, in the house lots, and it is harvested in May. Beans are grown more extensively than at Cherán; the harvest is exclusively by women.

Among the plants generally grown in Chilchota is amaranth (*bledos*). The cultivation is not commercialized, each family growing a little for its own use. Amaranth is used by Indians of La Cañada for making sweets; in Chilchota it is employed in sweets, certain atoles, and in an uncooked tamale resembling a tortilla which is sold in Capacuaro.

245 A considerable number of fruits are cultivated in Chilchota. Mangoes of the *criollo* and
262

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La Cañada

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

● 121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles, [578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

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[text continues on middle of p.215b]

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I

INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

●121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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121 relations, occupation, ethnic origin, or religious background. Social classes are the main segments of this type. Within the national culture, every local and class group has a distinctive subculture. The peasants often appear to be the group with the highest degree of cultural distinctiveness.

National culture and society can not be described only in terms of local and class groups. Both these groups are tied together by institutions (money, trade, property, education, government, law, religion), whose personnel does not always coincide either with local or class groups and which often, as in the case of money or law, are not really the culture of a group but rather an expression of the economic, social and political relations between the different segments of society.[4]

In applying this approach to the Tarascan scene, the following reasoning can be put forth:

There are a Mexican people and a Mexican culture. The social system under which this people lives is characterized by a division into social classes. Every class has cultural peculiarities, i. e., a class subculture. One (or several) of these classes are the peasants, people primarily engaged in the tilling of the soil. Correspondingly one could speak of a national peasant culture. Furthermore, these peasants live in rural settlements every one of which has a distinctive culture due to different native background and adaptations to local ecological and social conditions. In this sense every village can be said to have a local and class subculture, or folk culture for short.

177 Changes in the national cultures are the sum total of changes in every subculture
178 plus their interrelations. Some subcultures, however, change more rapidly, or their changes are more decisive than others in determining changes in the other subcultures. In our case, given the backwardness of the Tarascan peasants and their lesser integration into national life, their villages are neither the sources of initiative for change nor the places where changes in the national culture are prepared. The Tarascans hold no key economic position and have no control of political power. They are, rather, in the position of receiving influences from the rest of the nation, and the stimuli for change often come from the outside.

4. Steward, 1950, 113.

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178 One might approach the question of
177 change from two points of view: first, how local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of
105 Tarascan villages is classified according to this dichotomy:

FOLK	NATIONAL
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

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● 121
105

FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	
witchcraft	rational point of view taught in schools
total belief in folklore	

121
177 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

121
181 In this sense we study a process of change which is the same as that which Redfield describes as a difference between a folk and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

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121 historically those segments of our Western civilization among which industrialism did not arise (peasantry and colonial peoples), and among which its influences were latest to act. Thus, although in many basic economic, social and religious aspects the Tarascans are incorporated into Western society and must be considered part of it, they still keep many traits and institutions which characterize their subcultures as more similar in many respects to the primitive than to our civilization.

* * *

121 The present paper is an attempt to present the relation between local and national cultures as seen in one aspect of culture, in this case religion. The problem is to see how changes in the economic and social structure of Mexico in general and the Tarascan area in particular affect the development of Tarasan folk religion. National processes such as the loss of communal ownership of land, the separation of Church and State, the capitalist development of Mexico, the Mexican agrarian revolution, the anticlerical movement and the rise of a militant Catholic movement among the peasantry will be discussed in their local manifestations and their effect on religion.

128 The economic structure of the peasant communities will be outlined first in order
121 to provide a socio-economic background to our problem. The type of village community which is based on communal ownership of land — a type which was formed during colonial times by a blending of Spanish and Indian institutions — will be described first. The formation of large private estates *(haciendas)* from early colonial times on, and the abolition of communal ownership of land (1857-1910) impoverished the communities and increased the differences in wealth among the villagers. During the Mexican Revolution (1910 on) groups of peasants organized to obtain land from neighboring estates. In most Tarascan towns, which had no such estates in their neighborhood, these agraristas, lacking haciendas, seized properties from richer villagers or from formerly communal lands. Thus a new privileged minority was formed. The majority of the villages reacted against these reformers and in most cases won power in the local administrations. (Chapter 2.)

The main traits of the folk religion, the system of financing the cult, and the close relation between government and local organization of the cult will be examined in

121 order to show how the changes discussed in Chapter 2 brought about the decay of the
129 traditional organization of religious festivals. The heavy burden of financing the traditional cult had been a factor in hastening the impoverishment of some villagers. The agraristas were anticlerical and abolished the cult. In this they were fostered by the anti-religious policy of the government. The reaction against the agraristas, on the other hand, has been militantly Catholic, but the decline of religious folk festivals and of the body of officials organizing them still continues, although this reaction occurs under the guise of more orthodox Catholicism and is supported by the Church. (Chapter 3.)

The social content of the religious ideology as expressed in concepts of good and evil will be discussed in Chapter 4. The values sanctioned in religion are to some extent those peculiar to the folk culture, for instance, proper family relations. To the extent that they sanction national institutions, religious ideas and folklore sanction adherance to the Church and to private property. The religious tinge of political factions is apparent in the use of traditional lore by the Catholics in trying to prove the wickedness of the opposite party. Thus they use religion as an ideology in order to further their cause in the same way as they lean on the Church as an institution in order to support their social policies.

The question of belief will also be discussed. A more conservative attitude characterized by total belief in religious ideas and myths corresponds to the folk level of culture. The general trend, however, is toward disbelief in the content of folk ideas and acceptance of outside (national) authority (i.e., of the Church or schools). Political allegiance influences this tendency. While some anticlerical individuals doubt basic beliefs of the Catholic religion, the militant Catholics show a trend away from the folk beliefs under the acceptance of a more orthodox Catholicism.

A summary of conclusions will be given in Chapter 5.

* * *

128 Chapters 2 and 3 are based mainly on published material providing some historical perspectives, and only partly on field work. Chapter 4 is based almost exclusively on field work. As practically nothing on the subject discussed in this chapter appears in historical sources, historical interpreta-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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128 tion when attempted is for the most part inferential: seeing what older stages survive and how they are represented in modern material.

A discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation in the sixteenth century is not 121 attempted. Taken as a point of departure is the already more or less stable Indian colonial culture of the so-called Indian republics at the end of the eighteenth century. Our main source of information 127 is a 1789 official report on Michoacan, giving good information on the economics and political-religious organization of Indian towns. Part of it has been published[6] and another part has been used in the typewritten copy appended to Osbourn, 1941. References in other works are ably summarized and quoted by León.[7] Much more material undoubtedly can be recovered from archives in Mexico City and Michoacan. An important kind of document are the *pindecuarios*, lists of the towns' financial obligations and their officials for every religious celebration.[8] They provide information transitional to the nineteenth century. A good picture of Tarascan cul- 114 ture in the late-nineteenth century, on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, is provided by León, Lumholtz and Starr.[9] Modern material also throws light on preceding periods, providing a fuller description of what in older sources is barely sketched.

Among the post-revolutionary studies, Sáenz[10] shows great insight into the political conflict in La Cañada villages. Simpson's *Ejido* includes as one of his case studies the history of the land reforms in one Tarascan community. The names used are fictitious but it is evident that the area is the Zacapu swamp and the village in question is most probably Tarejero.[11] Mendieta y Núñez summarizes the existing literature on the Tarascans from pre-Spanish to modern times. His monograph is based primarily on published sources but contains some original material. The chapters on the agrarian problem by Fausto Galván Campos are particularly useful.[12]

Practically all field work in the present 122 period has been done as part of a coopera- 114 tive project of American and Mexican in-

6. Estado . . . , 1944.
7. León, 1906.
8. Fragments of such documents have been published in Rivera, 1868, 330-34 (for the village of Coeneo in 1787); Ocampo, 1900, 388-90 (for San Francisco in 1816) and León, 1906, 425-427 (for Pichátaro, no date).
9. León, 1906; Lumholtz, 1902; Starr, 1901 and 1908.
10. Sáenz, 1936.
11. Simpson, 1937, chapter xxv.
12. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940.

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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122 stitutions for the study of the Tarascans.[13] Work began in 1940 and since then the
114 main investigation has included two community studies, one of Cherán, a large Tarascan speaking town of farmers[14] and Tzintzuntzan, a Spanish speaking town of potters and farmers.[15] West gives a general cultural-geographical survey of the area.[16] Other reports are unpublished as yet or are not related to our problem.

114 The field work on which this paper is based, also part of the Tarascan project, took place in 1945. Although drawn for the most part from one single village (Jarácuaro), material on the ideology and lore of the Tarascans was gathered from several other towns. The purpose of the investigation was to obtain a picture of what we might call their world view: ideas and beliefs about the origin and nature of the world, the natural and the supernatural elements, the main religious concepts, their folk science or lore. This kind of material is most frequently expressed in narrative folklore.

12/ Cherán and Tzintzuntzan, the two communities for which full monographs are available, are rather conservative towns
101 where the agrarian movement has been weak. Jarácuaro, on an island in Lake Pátzcuaro, where most of the author's material was gathered, is a town of hat makers and farmers. From a total population of about 900 only eight men were still agraristas in 1945. Most of the rest of the town considered themselves sinarquistas, were organized, and controlled the local government. Had the problem of this paper been stated before the field work, more material would have been obtained from predominantly agrarista towns, but this monograph deals mostly with the conservative and sinarquista positions. A detailed study of the Tarascan agrarian movement and what it has meant for the Tarascan

13. Rubín de la Borbolla and Beals, 1940; Beals, 1946, ix; Foster, 1948, 1.
14. Beals, 1946.
15. Foster, 1948.
16. West, 1948.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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culture is greatly needed for an understanding of the problems of the area.

* * *

A comparative study is not attempted in this paper. Studies of Indian communities in Central and South America show that similar problems exist in these areas. The change of a folk culture in the direction of greater assimilation by the national culture is best exemplified in Redfield's Yucatan study[17] and it can be assumed to be a general process. The economic organization of the traditional cult is based on the primitive economic mechanisms of reciprocity of services and gifts. Under the impact of a modern economy this organization becomes inadequate and its obligations are felt to be onerous.[18] The attempts at radical change which took place in some Michoacan communities do not seem to be general. In some other cases the change away from expensive obligations to the cult is involved with conversion to Protestantism[19] or can be accomplished gradually without the violent conflict which characterizes this development in Michoacan.[20]

A comparative study of cases similar to that discussed in this paper would have to look into every local circumstance for the relation between the changing village economy and the economics and organization of the local cult. On the other hand the national pattern in which those communities live undoubtedly influences the form of the change, whether gradual, schismatic or anticlerical. The Mexican Revolution, which can be understood only in national terms, was the main determinant of the direction of change taken in most Tarascan villages. The influence of Protestant missions also depends on the national policies of the countries concerned. Any comparative study consequently will have to include the relations existing between the national and peasant cultures involved.

17. Redfield, 1941.
18. Mishkin, 1946, 446; Carrasco, 1951, 195-7.
19. For Guatemala, see Tax, personal communication; perhaps also in Peru, see Tschopik, 1947, 48, 53.
20. Carrasco, 1951; Tschopik, 1947, 24, 45-6.

3: Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942)1944 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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FOREWORD

000 The Smithsonian Institution published recently Doctor Charles Upson Clark's translation of the "Espinosa Manuscript," which he discovered in the Library of the Vatican.* This work contains the detailed report by a keen observer of conditions in Latin America as they were soon after the Spanish Conquest.

121 The Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology now begins to give an even more detailed account of life and conditions prevailing at the present time among the Sierra Tarascans in Mexico. It can readily be foreseen that not only may this study lead to improvement in these social conditions, but that it will be read by anthropologists of the future with the same type of interest which attracts them in the Espinosa Manuscript.

C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution,
June 22, 1944.

*Compendium and description of the West Indies, by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 102, 880 pp. 1942.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
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114 result of work which was undertaken independently. These include: "Tzintzuntzan-Ihuatzio, Temporadas I y II," by Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 3, pp. 99–121, 1939), and "Exploraciones Arqueológicas Realizadas en el Estado de Michoacán Durante los Años de 1937 y 1938," by Jorge R. Acosta (Rev. Mex. de Estud. Antrop., vol. 4, pp. 85–98, 1940).

121 The purpose of the Program is to provide a coordinated and integrated plan of investigation of the Tarascan Indians for the dual purpose of: (1) Making a comprehensive scientific study of a little-known major Mexican Indian group, and (2) providing a body of fundamental data for the administration of the Tarascan area. For both purposes of the study, it is felt that certain non-anthropological studies are essential. As the Tarascans have been a farming and fishing people into a remote past, and since Spanish times began have also been a woodworking and cattle-raising people, a thorough understanding of the environment and its potentialities is essential, not only in order to understand the past and present culture of the Tarascans, but also to provide an adequate basis for intelligent administration. To this end, geographical, botanical, and zoological studies are planned as well as a thorough soil reconnaissance followed by more detailed studies of agricultural methods, problems, and potentialities, together with similar studies of forest, grazing, and animal husbandry techniques. In a similar fashion, understanding of the present population requires the collaboration of medical and public-health workers with the physical an-

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5(1940-1942)1944
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121 thropologist. At the same time, understanding of the contemporary culture and the processes which led to its formation requires a knowledge of the Tarascan past. The Program consequently includes plans for archeological research to illuminate the prehistoric period and for historical research to determine the events of the Contact, Colonial, and Republican periods.

Put in another way, the Program may be said

[continued on p. 26]

THEORETICAL Background

The present paper is a frankly experimental effort to reconcile scientific and applied objectives in anthropology. The Tarascan Indians of Michoacán, Mexico, are one of the large Indian groups of that country and so are the object of great concern on the part of governmental agencies devoted to Indian problems. Housing is one of the usual subjects considered in programs of social welfare and, hence, is a suitable topic for discussion from this point of view. On the other hand, the Tarascans are very little known scientifically. Housing, as one of the important aspects of cultural activity, is, therefore, a legitimate subject of scientific study. The problem is whether these two purposes may be combined, either in the process of field study, or in the manner of presentation of data, in such a way as will be useful and satisfactory to individuals interested in either subject.

Interest in applied, or "practical," anthropology has been increasing in recent years among large numbers of anthropologists. In Mexico, results capable of application have long been regarded as one important end of all anthropological research in the country, although it must be confessed that there has been more tendency to consider purely scientific research to be a necessary prerequisite to the adequate solution of practical problems than has been the case with administrators in the United States. In the United States, the growth of interest in applied anthropology is evidenced in the recent birth of a journal devoted to this subject. Moreover, many anthropologists who have been reluctant to concern themselves with practical problems in studying the Indians of the United States, have confessed that it is undesirable and perhaps impossible to ignore the practical problems in such countries as Mexico where the Indian

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121 briefly to envision a pooling of the techniques of all the various branches of anthropology with those of the other social sciences and the more pertinent natural sciences to the end of understanding the Tarascans and their past and present problems as fully as possible. The Program is anthropological only insofar as anthropology provides the central core of essential studies and is the integrating discipline.

Theoretical BACKGROUND

question vitally affects the entire national welfare. It would, consequently, seem important to attempt a reconciliation of the objectives of "pure," or "scientific," anthropology and "applied," or "practical," anthropology.

As this paper will attempt to reconcile the two different approaches, a consideration of the abstract problems involved seems desirable. It is obvious that scientific ends in anthropology are often varied in character, but all depend to some extent upon the primary problem of description. It is obviously impossible to discuss anything related to Tarascan housing without first knowing its characteristics. Description, then, necessarily provides the raw data for any scientific objective. The amount of description necessary to any particular objective may, of course, vary, but unless a precisely limited problem is set in advance, the fullest possible description is apt to be of the widest use to the most people. To the applied field, description is likewise necessary. We cannot decide whether a people are adequately or poorly housed until we know how they are housed, what natural resources are available, or are used, and what skills exist for the utilization of these resources. So far, then, we may say in general that description of housing and house use is necessary both to applied and to scientific objectives, even though the amount and kind of description needed conceivably may vary.

As indicated, scientific study may be directed toward several objectives. One scientist may set himself the problem of discovering the history of the Tarascan house type, another may wish to learn the history of the Tarascan *use* of the house rather than the history of its construction. Yet another may wish to know what the functions of the house are within the total culture partly or

121 wholly aside from its use for shelter or storage, or he may wish to study the interrelations of the house and its use with other aspects of culture. It is possible, for example, that houses may represent prestige values or be symbols of status quite apart from any utility they may have. Yet others may wish to study the house from the standpoint of culture change: how changes in houses occur or how they are occurring, the effect of a dominant culture in close contact with Tarascan culture upon housing, and so on.

The foregoing suggests that an aspect of the scientific approach, aside from description, involves in part the setting of problems. However, this is not the exclusive property of the pure scientist; in the applied field, problems also exist or are set up. The nature and phrasing of the problems in the applied field, though, are apt to be different from those of the "pure" anthropologist, although in many cases they may be closely similar. In the applied field, the problem may be: "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" A pure scientist could well ask a similar question, but his purpose in so doing would be different. The pure scientist asking a similar question probably would be doing so in order to ascertain how good a "fit" the Tarascan had achieved in his adaptation to his physical environment. The student in the applied field would probably go somewhat further. He would perhaps ask: "What other type of house would be better suited to the needs of the Tarascans?" In addition, his final question might be either: "How may the use the Tarascan makes of his present house be improved?" or "How may the Tarascans be induced to change to a better type of house?"

Some of the questions of the applied anthropologist superficially seem to be of quite different character from those asked by the "pure" scientist, but it perhaps must be conceded that, theoretically, at least, they are capable of scientific approach. Even a problem involving change in use or type involves, for its successful solution, an understanding of culture processes and culture dynamics. At the same time, it is obvious that the applied anthropologist has introduced the whole field of values in his use of such terms as "suitable," "needs," "better," and "improved."

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[2] It must at once be asked whether these value terms are capable of scientific definition or not.

Before proceeding to the discussion of this point, it should be remarked that the pure scientist also frequently utilizes value terms in his work. Unfortunately, the "pure" scientist all too frequently either ignores this fact or is completely unaware of it. I have already pointed out that, in somewhat different context, the question, "To what extent is Tarascan housing suitable for the needs of the inhabitants?" could be a thoroughly respectable question in pure science if the objective were to determine the relations of the Tarascans to their environment. Anthropological literature of excellent scientific repute is full of appraisals of the adaptations primitive peoples have made to their environments. Actually, every such appraisal requires the existence of some sort of value standard on the part of the anthropologist. If he is a "pure scientist," however, he apparently considers himself above the necessity of explaining these values or else he takes them for granted. Actually, of course, he is often using "common sense." Other things being equal, a house that keeps its inhabitants warmer in cold weather, most people will agree, is a better adaptation than one affording less warmth. For the "applied" scientist, however, such "common sense" approaches are not permitted. He must make his value statements explicit and justify them.

Once an attempt is made to bring values into the open, the difficulties pyramid. How, for example, is one to determine what is "suitable?" An expression of an ideal on the part of the investigator usually will not be meaningful in terms of the realities of a given social situation. What is suitable housing is not alone a question of adjustment to climate. Realistically, what is "suitable" involves a complex balancing of what may be deemed most desirable taking into consideration such things as available raw materials, available technological skills, economic resources, and so on. It might be perfectly possible to arrive at the conclusion that, under given temperature and humidity ranges, a brick and frame construction with a slate roof, steam heat, modern plumbing, and a bedroom for every member of the family represents what is suitable, but among most Indian groups such as the Tarascans this

121 would be mere fantasy at the present time. Not only would materials be lacking, but there would be an almost complete lack of skills available for the construction; economically, it would represent an unattainable ideal even for the wealthy, and the Tarascans would have no idea what to do with such a house if they had it.

There are not wanting opinions that the establishment of values is entirely too complicated a business to be feasible. This seems, perhaps, too drastic a view to take. Admittedly, it is not possible with our present techniques to arrive at a complete statement, and, for the purpose of the approach to be used in this paper, it is not particularly necessary that we do so. What should be possible is to establish certain minimal standards of value which will be generally accepted and some of which are susceptible of empirical determination. In the last analysis, the decision as to how far beyond the minima it is desirable or feasible to go with respect to the Tarascans is a matter to be decided by administrative agencies in terms of the data which may be presented by research. This is, of course, begging the question of the ultimate establishment of desirable values, but, for the present, we wish only to establish the main categories within which value problems exist. Using these categories, it should be possible for the scientist to present the problems and data in such a fashion as to serve the interests of both the "pure" and "applied" fields.

The following categories of value problems are offered as representing the basic assumptions on which we may proceed:

1. A reasonable number of square feet of floor space and cubic feet of room space per person are necessary to good health. This assumes that good health in the population is a desirable goal, but we must make some assumptions if this discussion is not to be unduly protracted. The amount of space needed should be possible of empirical determination by medical experimentation, taking into account variations in climate, living habits, clothing, and similar factors.

2. The degree of ventilation necessary for health may be determined.

3. The housing should be sufficiently dry to preserve not only the health of the inmates but any furnishings, food, or other belongings kept in the house.

4. If the climate demands, some method of providing heat is needed, conditioned again by clothing and living habits.

5. The housing should be rodent and insect proof, again to protect health and property.

Other factors of a more complex nature could be brought into this list. Any mention of esthetic

121 satisfactions is also purposely avoided. It is hoped that, in the ensuing sections of the paper, it will be demonstrated that data on Tarascan housing can be presented sensibly in terms of these problems relative to costs, materials, skills, habits, and economic resources. Such a presentation should make it possible for administrators to set goals, and at the same time permit the scientist to establish the relative adequacy of the Tarascan adaptation to environment more explicitly than is usually done.

It perhaps must be emphasized that in the last analysis any system of values or goals chosen must rest with the administrative agency or agents, not with the investigator. It is obvious also that these values may be unduly influenced by the cultural background of the agents. Thus, a southern Californian might show a predilection for frame and stucco construction (or, if he is sensitive, a pronounced antipathy to such construction), while a New Yorker might prefer brick, and a Mexican might lean toward adobe or lime and stone. Such problems lie outside the immediate scope of our purpose. Rather we are concerned with ascertaining whether the data may be presented with reference to problem categories in such a way that the administrator can make a reasonable choice of values and a decision as to the means to be employed in achieving them.

An additional question is whether these data may be presented in such form as to be scientific in character and to meet the needs of the scientist in the pure sense. This is really a dual problem. The first is whether the collection of data for the two ends may reasonably be combined. The second is whether the presentation of data can be combined in a single report. It is our impression that the latter is more difficult than is the first. In any case, we believe we are in a good position to make the attempt. Although some of the funds used in the field work were supplied by a government agency, the Departmento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, absolutely no restrictions were attached to their use, and no efforts were made to influence the place or the direction of the study. We also have little direct personal interest in the solution of the problems posed and can have little hope of influencing any administrative decisions on value standards. Consequently, our attitudes toward values or goals should be relatively neutral. With this lengthy discussion of theoretical problems, we turn now to the concrete attempt to put these ideas into practice.

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4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. v-a]

[p. iv contains no text]

PREFACE

121 [122] The present study was done under the auspices of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and in cooperation with the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, D. F. The study proposes to serve as a background for the various detailed pueblo monographs executed in the Tarascan area by other members of the Institute.

Being a report on the cultural geography of a region, the present paper is chiefly descriptive, although a developmental treatment has been employed wherever the scanty historical materials would permit. Physical background is only briefly considered; emphasis is on material culture, particularly modern Tarascan economy: agriculture, handicrafts, and trade. In addition, an attempt is made to describe the areal recession of Tarascan speech since Spanish contact.

114 Field work was done in April, May, and June of 1946. With the exception of Cheranátzicurin, all Tarascan towns were visited. Many neigh-

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS[1]

By RALPH L. BEALS and PEDRO CARRASCO[2]

ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.[3] One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.[4] Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.[5] Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or patolli and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

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[1] This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940, pp. 708–711.

[2] The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940–1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angáhuan, a large village in the *municipio* of San Juan Parangarukutíri, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

[3] Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 42, 1940), pp. 409–428.

[4] Ralph L. Beals. *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (Ibero-Americana 2, 1932), pp. 151–152.

[5] Erland Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deporte de los Indios Chaqueños y de los Araucanos* (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

Ethnic Identification in an Indian Mestizo Community

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS[1]

A study in a Mexican community provided opportunities for the collection of material for a statistical study of the bases of ethnic identification. In Paracho, a community in the Sierra Tarascan region of Michoacán, it appeared possible that a racial classification of the population might prove useful in the final analysis of certain anthropometric materials. The investigation was to study the effects of migration upon the physical dimensions of returned migrants in comparison with those of non-migrants and a question on the "race" of the subjects' parents was included on the data sheet. After a few records had been taken it became evident that the responses to the "race" question were such that they would be of little aid in the analysis of the anthropometric data, but that they might be of some sociological interest. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the responses to this question with a view to the insights gained into the ethnic categorization of a people by itself.

Although much has been written concerning the definition of Indian and Mestizo in Latin America, to the author's knowledge there has been no quantitative study designed to show the degree to which several possible classificatory devices are employed by the natives of a region in categorizing themselves. Furthermore, there has not been any study designed to show which segments of a population manifest changes in attitudes regarding ethnic identification.

It has frequently been said that membership in either the Indian or the Mestizo (Ladino) group in Latin America is a matter of socio-cultural rather than biological affiliation.[2] In communities where both Indio and Mestizo are locally distinguished, interaction between these groups is said to be similar to either class-like or caste-like relations.[3]

[1] Aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

[2] Julio de la Fuente, "Ethnic and Communal Relations" in *Heritage of Conquest*, ed. by Sol Tax (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1952), p. 77.
Julian H. Steward, "The Changing American Indian" in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. by Ralph Linton (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 282-305.
Harry Tschopik, Jr., *Highland Communities of Central Peru*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 5 (Washington, 1947), pp. 11-15.

[3] Julio de la Fuente, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 *ff.*

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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The Diet of a Tarascan Village

By Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher
(Estados Unidos)

Sumario

El presente artículo es una compilación de datos acerca del régimen alimenticio de los habitantes de Cherán, pueblo tarasco situado en las montañas michoacanas, a 4,500 pies de altura. Cherán es un pequeño pueblo de agricultores relativamente próspero ya que solamente un 10 a 20 por ciento de los habitantes pueden ser clasificados de pobres, no existiendo por otra parte, familias marcadamente ricas.

Para colectar el material de este estudio se emplearon tres métodos. 1. Una lista completa de los productos alimenticios que se consumen. 2. Una colección de los "menús" que forman una comida normal. 3. Algunas familias cultas de la localidad cooperaron consiguiendo una lista completa de los alimentos consumidos en los últimos quince días. La deficiencia de este método estriba en la imposibilidad de incluir en la lista los vegetales que se recogen en los bosques y se consumen como antojo, entre comidas.

Sin embargo, a pesar de la deficiencia del método los datos adquiridos alcanzan una misma conclusión general. Varias tablas van insertas, que muestran el régimen alimenticio. Estas tablas se encuentran distribuídas en la siguiente forma: Tabla 1: Derivada de las diversas fuentes de información. Tabla 2: Muestra el régimen alimenticio de un adulto de familia acomodada. Tabla 3: Un adulto de familia pobre.

Los autores señalan las dificultades que presenta el análisis de estos datos. Por ejemplo existe una gran variedad en el contenido vitamínico de los diversos alimentos y luego la incógnita de si los requisitos de condimentación son los mismos en todas las familias.

Es preciso hacer un estudio minucioso acerca de los alimentos que se consumen en la región, determinando mediante análisis clínicos el valor alimenticio de cada uno para averiguar qué deficiencias de vitaminas ocasionan las enfermedades.

Los autores finalmente propugnan por el mayor consumo en la región de trigo, camote, naranjas, plátanos, leche, y tomates, y recomiendan asimismo se disminuya el consumo del maíz.

121 The collection and analysis of data on the diet of the mountain Tarascan village of Cherán has raised a number of problems which it is believed may be of value to students interested in similar studies. The data and the interpretations given them are necessarily provisional and should not be regarded as more than general suggestions about the dietary situation in the village. Nevertheless, several different approaches gave similar results, and the interpretations should be of some use, pending a more thorough investigation of the subject.[1]

114 [1] The field data upon which this paper is based were collected by the senior author, Ralph L. Beals, assisted by Silvia Rendón and Thomas McCorckle, in the course of general study of the village of Cherán

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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.

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121 [114] made possible the dense populations necessary for developing the more advanced Middle American cultures.[5] Yet when we analyze actual intake of foods among a people who undoubtedly were part of the advanced culture groups, we find that the protein intake from beans [146] in a wealthy family is only 1.1 ounces per adult per week, and in a poor family 33 ounces per week, while the protein intake from maize is respectively 19.2 ounces and 12.1 ounces per week. It is true that the quality of protein may be a factor of significance, particularly with reference to presence or absence of amino acids, but again no very satisfactory data are available. Finally, it is evident that much more work must be done in determining the values of foods, particularly with respect to the vitamin content of foods grown in the Tarascan environment. There must be further studies of the effects of maize storage, chile drying, and the specific effects of Tarascan cookery methods upon specific foods, to mention but a few problems.

128 146 One additional method of checking the validity of the present results is possible. The vitamin picture does suggest certain clinical and sub-clinical deficiencies. Persons using white corn in this area should show a high incidence of night blindness, some xerothalmia among children, and retarded growth. The B-vitamin picture is everywhere low, markedly so among low income groups. Consequently, there is expectation of pellegra, lack of vitality, and digestive disorders such as constipation. Scurvy probably should occur at times if the results are more or less correct. All of these dire predictions could be checked by good medical field studies; if verified, the reliability of the present study would be considerably enhanced. The probability that vitamin B deficiencies affect vitality indicate the importance of further studies to determine possible influences on culture development or cultural participation.

146 As a final comment, the Cherán diet would be greatly improved by a shift in emphasis upon items already present. More whole wheat, bread, sweet potatoes, oranges, bananas, milk, tomatoes, meat and eggs, and less maize, would produce a distinctly better diet. Table 4 is a modification of the diet for a very poor family, showing what a great change would be produced by rather slight shifts which could be accomplished with little or no increase in cost. The increase in vitamin intake, however, would still leave a deficiency of the vitamins and reduce the calory intake still more.

262 435 Analysis of the costs of various diets reveals much more striking differences than are shown by the nutritive values. Data from one of

[5] Linton, Ralph. "Crops, Soils, and Culture in America" (in The Maya and their Neighbors, New York, 1940, pp. 32-40).

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the poorest families in town shows that the total food cost for a family of three adults and two children could average as little as 81½ centavos a week or $42.38 (pesos) a year. This would be 16.3 centavos a day per person. In contrast to this, the diet of a relatively wealthy family, in which the household numbered ten persons, cost $12.50 per week or $650.00 per year. This would be $1.25 per person per week, or $65.00 per person per year, again disregarding age differentials.[6]

The suggested improved diet given in table 4 actually might cost even less than the poor family diet presented. The diet in figure 4, is, however, deficient in calories, as has been stated. Even with the addition of sufficient calories, it is possible that the improved diet would not add noticeably to the cost; certainly it would not cost more than a peso a week for the five persons. These data suggest that education in the use of proper foods and the changing of food habits may sometimes be more important than economic betterment as a means of bringing about adequate nutrition.

It must be reiterated, however, that any conclusions suggested in this paper are tentative. Imperfect as the data and interpretations are, it is nevertheless clearly indicated that extensive and accurate nutritional studies are needed. This is true, whether the major aim is to discover the possible relation of nutrition to other cultural factors, or whether it is to map out a program of nutritional improvement for the group.

[6] In these cost estimates, it is assumed all food was purchased; actually some would be grown.